/105 cont./

C 162 The inhabitants of Tierradentro may be divided into three groups, according to the degree of civilization: a) the colonists living south of the Rio Ullucus, who speak Spanish and have nothing in common with the Paez. In habits and customs they correspond to the general, more or less strongly mestizo, Colombian rural population. Furthermore, the population of Balalcázar, consisting predominantly of Negroes, has nothing in common with the Paez. They were brought there by the Spaniards in colonial times as slaves, in order to exploit the salt mines that were used by the Paez even in ancient times. Today salt C [316] extraction is no longer profitable. The Negroes live partly on gold-washing in the Rio Paez, which is undertaken in primitive T fashion with wooden pans, the workers standing up to their knees [563] in water. The Paez do not generally intermarry with the Negroes, [186] but, on the contrary, despise them, since they know that they at one time came there as slaves.

P 162 361 563 b) The Paez who north of the Río Ullucus have settled both banks of the Rio Paez as far north as Nevado del Huila. They have in part intermarried with the white and mestizo colonist P [103] population. The /106/ places inhabited by them are: Araujo, Avirama, Belalcázar, Cuetando, Mosoco, Ricaurte, San Andrés, San José, Tálaga, Toez, Togóima.

T 162 103 P 114 121 P 181 648 101 c) The pure Paez villages of Calderas, Chinas, Huila, Lame, Santa Rosa, Suin and Vitoncó. Among these the Paez of Calderas have preserved their cultural individuality most purely. We worked primarily among them, and the present material, insofar as nothing is said to the contrary, refers to the culture of the Paez of Calderas. The Calderun, as the inhabitants of Calderas are known in the country, are by far the most unapproachable of all the Paez. They have best kept to this day the three laws of Juan Tama, the mythical hero of the Paez, which were originally strictly observed by all. These three laws say: 1. Tierradentro is solely and exclusively the land of the Paez, 2. the Paez may never intermarry with other races, 3. the Paez are invincible as long as they keep these laws. The third law in particular has well-founded justification, since for centuries

/106 cont./

648 it was impossible for the Spaniards to conquer Tierradentro and [101 181] subjugate the Paez.

Even today the Paez love their independence above all. And even though they cannot accomplish anything by force against the "whites," by which they mean the colonists and the Colombians in general, they nevertheless hate them with impotent fury. "Muiska pešu" (*), "white robber," is what they call the

* Concerning the transcription and phonetics of Paez words, cf. pp. 154-156.

colonists who took their land from them. The latter, however, more industrious than the Paez, need land for their numerous children. They cannot see why the best and virgin soil should remain unused in the hands of the Paez.

361 The rivers arising in the heights as a result of the water flowing down in the mountainous country form enclosed valley basins, each of which contains a village politically. These are, however, not villages in our sense, since the houses do not lie together, but separately, scattered on the slopes of the entire 123 valley basin as individual farms. This decentralized position of 361 a village rendered the ethnological work considerably more difficult, since one cannot keep an eye on "his" village and survey all the inhabitants together. Hence it is very difficult to become acquainted with all the people of the village, since in each case one must go great distances from one house to another and at the same time usually very laboriously climb a slope. How often it happened that the inhabitants were not at home at the moment or did not want to be seen or spoken to. For, at first, the Calderun did not by any means care to see us, and even after months of life and visits among them, the old people looked back with nostalgia on the times when /107/ all intruding whites were killed.

123 Today, moreover, not only whites, but even foreigners come to [177] Calderas. "If we speak to them and treat them well," they said, "then more and more whites will come here." How often it happened that we visited one of the old men, who, I was told,

1: Nachtigall--186 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

If someone

/266 cont./

787 dreams of peté squash, he will be devoured by the Pijao, for this
[266] squash has black seeds, and the Pijao as man-eaters have /267/ black teeth. If one has been greatly amused in a dream at night and has laughed a great deal, he will have a great deal of vexation during the day. If it rained heavily in a dream at night, a chicken or something similar will be stolen the next day. If in a dream someone has ridden very fast all night long on a brown horse, the day will be beautiful, for the brown or red color is the color of the sun (the same word is used for brown and red); dreaming of riding a black horse, on the other hand, will cause a black cloud to come up the next day, and then it will rain. If, before sowing, someone dreams of a big lagoon that appears all green or has a great deal of green growth around it, this means that the subsequent sowing will produce a good harvest. Anyone who sees a black pig in his dream has in reality seen the heart of an evil shaman, that is to say, he, as a good human being, has met the wandering soul of an evil shaman; this is not a good sign, but neither is it so bad that one would have to fall ill on account of it. Dreaming about the slaughtering of a pig means that an evil sorcerer will die. If one dreams that a thorn entered his foot on
[763] the road, a snake will bite him. If one's tooth drops out in a dream, a close relative will die. If someone else kills a large rooster, his father will die, for the rooster is the heart of the father. But if a person himself slaughters a large rooster in a dream, he will murder his own father. If one dreams that he has worked a great deal in his field on one day, then wild animals will break
[754] into this field and destroy the entire crop. If a person dreams that
[763] he is falling into a deep hole and cannot get out again, this is a sign that he will die, for an evil sorcerer has thus stolen the soul of a human being, buried it in a deep hole, and stamped down the earth again.

756 If dreams and shamanistic signs of a relatively advanced spiritual attitude lead to the conclusion that there is a corresponding external ceremonial outfit for the shaman, we shall be disap-
[181] pointed. The shaman's staff (tama), to which a liana (nika) is added for certain ceremonies, is unadorned, poor, and inartistic, like the entire culture of the Paez.

/287 cont./

## 4. Music

533 In no area of Paez culture is poverty evident to such an ex-
535 tent as in song and dance, the predominant expressions of the character and spirit of all peoples. No peculiar dance is per-
[173] formed among the /288/ Paez, and I heard no song sung. This undoubtedly represents an impoverishment, for it may be seen
533 from the folklore that in former times there was dancing. A
[173] similar conclusion must also be drawn about the playing of very
[181] agreeable music. Their knowledge of music, however, makes it highly probable that song also existed, especially among a people
[581 521 522 192] that is basically jolly and constantly disposed to jest. In fact, it is very difficult for a girl who is slow in jocular conversation to get a husband. And to my question about the Paez word for "sing house" listed in Uricoechea, the amiable Victoriano, to his own great surprise, was immediately able to give me a special word in his language, "mémyat."

534 It is not possible to say with certainty which of the musical
[171] instruments used by the Paez today is an original one. The absence of any kind of rattle, the outstanding instrument of the American natives, is surprising (*).

> * Pittier de Fábrega (p. 325) /see the bibliography in the foreign text, p. 326/, however, mentions among the musical instruments of the Paez a rattle (tsoóts) in the form of a calabash with a handle, which was filled with small stones. Whether this may not perhaps be an instrument of the Negroes of Belalcázar is still undecided.

534 The cow horn (kǎčn) found in every house is not in the true
202 sense a musical instrument, but one for signaling. It is completely undecorated and, consisting of a horn sawed off at the tip, gives only one tone, which is produced in the same manner as the tone of a bugle or fanfare. This horn is used by the men when they come down from the mountains after a joint felling of the trees needed for housebuilding, in order to notify the village of their return.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15



121 The present object is not in any way to contribute an exhaustive monograph on the Paez, but simply to give a summary of our former knowledge of them, together with the chief results of the personal information collected during the visit referred to.

## ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES

### FORMER OCCUPANTS. "PLANOS DE INDIOS." HUACAS

101 In addition to the still existing tribes, traces of the former
174 occupancy of the Cauca valley and the adjacent mountains by a dense Indian population are found at every step. The names of extinct groups, like the Hilamas, Ocaches, Jamundies, and others, impressed on the minds of the former Spanish inhabitants by reason of some of their more gruesome customs, have come down to the present generation, although the tribes, as such, have disappeared. Of the Hilamas and Ocaches it is said
[182 they were cannibals. At present their more or less mixed
● 181 descendants still live in the villages of Las Pavas and Vijes,
162] near Cali; the "Paveños" have become inveterate legal fighters, keeping their judges and alcaldes constantly occupied; while the "Vijeños," on the other hand, are now so peaceful that the court-house is known to have been closed for eighteen months at a time.

101 Of the Jamundies I was told that they were indefatigable
114 warriors, having fought the Spanish invaders to the last of their strength. Their name is perpetuated in that of the little town
[103] of Jamundi, near which I visited the very interesting vale of Agua Sucia, which may have been one of their principal strongholds, as well as a rich gold-washing place. The hills were and still are partly covered with graves, or *huacas*, and these have
[135] been found so abundant in gold objects as to have induced enterprising miners, or *huaqueros*, to conduct a stream of water from a long distance in order to completely wash the slopes.
172 I do not attempt to mention the fabulous riches that are said to have been extracted from this place and from several other no less rich discoveries. An immense amount of pottery, often highly ornamented, together with grinding-stones, hatchets,

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15



stroyed the city of Caloto, then on the Magdalena river, according to Alcedo. But it is not unlikely that, later on, during their decline, the Pijaos, Paós, and perhaps several other tribes became mixed, and those whom we now call *Paez* are the survivors in blood, customs, and traditions, of all these frequently named *parcialidades* or *naciones*.

### Physical Characteristics

There is no special reference by former writers respecting the physical characteristics of these Indians, probably because of the apparent uniformity in type of all the tribes of tropical South America. According to my own very fleeting observations the Paez are small, broad-shouldered, with small bony hands, and feet broadened toward the extremities. Their skin is very dark, a character common to all Indians living at great altitudes. In the case of almost every adult, both male and female, coming under my observation, I observed a fine black pubescence covering all visible parts of the body. They appear to be generally strong and healthy, and their physical endurance is not below the average. On our trip across the cordillera each adult man carried at least thirty kilograms, and many of them more than fifty, and none complained of being too heavily laden, although the trail up to nearly 4,000 meters and down again was exceedingly rough and steep, requiring at times not only much exertion but equal presence of mind.

It is well to mention, after Uricoechea, that the Paeces are naturally inclined to warfare, and invariably join one side or the other in the unceasing Colombian revolutions. In early times they raided the Spanish establishments, the destruction of Caloto on two occasions (the first time in 1641) being still held by them in vivid remembrance as glorious feats of their ancestors. I was even assured that not long ago, during the last war, they were with difficulty prevented from making an incursion on the neighboring Cauca cattle ranches.

I was quite surprised to find among the Paez Indians a character that I had noticed previously in Central America, but of which no record could be found in current literature. I refer to

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15



deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*opimb*), or of tapir hide (*yimba-kdi*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

## GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

/293 cont./

221 on the fincas of the "whites" (1). The social life and the re-
[166]
[464]
[192]
[199]
[128]

1. Generic term with which the natives designate all those who observe the norms of western culture, without any distinction as to race. For convenience we have adopted this usage, putting the term in quotation marks.

ligious fiestas are frequent during this period. The work is done /294/ with devotion and perseverance. It is not done in haste, but there is no resting either.

423 Every Páez family has its lands. This is its ambition. The
[183] primary source of its security. Every crag has an owner whose title has been won by the sweat of his brow. Every crag harbors a rancho that shelters a family. Every inch of land is passionately
[571] defended by the native. The disputes stirred up by this fact are not few. In like manner the cabildos are never so zealous as in the defense of the lands of the parcialidad /a territorial division/.
[648] The areas of settlement /areas of colonization by whites/ are spearheads in the very heart of the community. They were established against the full opposition of the natives. On the other hand, the defense of the land and the prevention of contamination by foreign peoples are postulates of the doctrine. The distribution of the houses suggests in advance the profusion of paths and private property.

When they win the scarce land, the distances and difficul-
[464] ties that loom are not important. They are good colonizers, and it is rare that persons who lack land hire themselves out as permanent peons or become tenant farmers on the great haciendas.
[181] They prefer independence above all.

311 To study the economy of the Páez, certain factors of a
133 geographico-physical and cultural nature cannot be overlooked. They are:

1. Thermic levels. The lands now occupied by the Páez of Tierradentro correspond to the thermic levels of cold and temperate. The contour line corresponding to 2,000 meters